WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

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Textile Strike Debacle

By JAMES P. CANNON

The great general strike of the textile workers, which raised the whole insurgent movement of labor to a new height and stirred the workers everywhere with its mighty sweep and militancy, has come to an inglorious end—defeated and shamefully betrayed by the leadership of the U.T.W. and the upper crust of the A. F. of L.

In the history of the American labor movement it would be difficult to find a more cruel example of the evil role of the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" and the heavy price the workers must pay for allowing them to hold the leadership of the unions. Incompetence, cowardice, and, at the crucial moment, outright treachery—these are the contributions which McMahon and Gorman, pushed from behind by Green and Co., made to the strike from the vantage point of the leading staff.

THE STRIKE SETTLEMENT

To call the ending of the strike a settlement is to rob the word of any meaning. The whole report of the Winant board, stripped to its essence, was nothing more than a promise to look into the grievances of the workers. And not even that was accepted by the bosses. Without that, without even an agreement to reinstate the strikers, the leaders called off the strike at the peak of its strength and abandoned the workers to the savage reprisals of the mill owners. Tens of thousands of workers, unionized for the first time and staking everything on the struggle, have been left in the lurch by their leaders and locked out of the mills by the bosses. A terrible introduction to the trade union movement for them; a terrible warning for all of what the present leading staff of the labor movement will be capable of in the greater tests to come if they are not thrown overboard in time.

The executive council of the A. F. of L. cold bloodedly isolated the textile workers, refused to move a finger to provide funds to feed them—millions could have been raised in the trade unions at the scratch of a pen by Green—and devoted themselves exclusively to machinations to get the strike ended at any cost. These scoundrels fear the mass struggles of the workers no less than the bosses fear them. A militant labor movement, drawing great masses into action, is incompatible with their rule. They aim to crush this movement and restore "peace" in the relations between labor and capital, even if it is the peace of the breadline and the graveyard for the workers.

RANK AND FILE DISARMED

What is most remarkable and outstanding in this tragic situation is the proof on every side that the rank and file of the textile workers were without any means of resistance to the perfidy of the leadership; that the millions of other trade unionists, who were inspired by the magnificent struggle and wished to aid, were powerless to make a move. Black reaction and cynical treachery are enthroned in the labor union machine. The mass discontent at the bottom, generating enough energy in these years of crisis to blow the bureaucratic machine to bits, and the whole system of exploitation along with it, remains without organization, without program, without leadership. The Greens and Gormans rule the movement and ruin the most heroic struggles because there are none to challenge them.

The fearful textile strike debacle follows the tragic experiences of the auto workers, the steel workers, the San Francisco general strike, and other movements of insurgent labor in 1934 which have been turned into bitter defeat. They all cry out the same warning: The insurgent movement must be organized; it must work out its program and find its authentic leadership. The heart of this program must be an unrelenting struggle against the labor agents of the masters who sit on top of the trade union movement. The insurgent leadership must be dedicated to this struggle as a part of the struggle against the bosses and the National Rund Around.

Forces for a mighty left wing and progressive movement in the trade unions are not lacking. The crisis years have created the conditions for its emergence on a wide scale. Every new treachery of the bureaucracy prepares new recruits. What is lacking is a conscious, unifying and guiding nucleus which alone can organize the movement and provide it with a program. What is lacking is a revolutionary party.

The Stalinists perform all the functions of a party in reverse order. Where organization of the vanguard is needed, they disorganize. Where clarity is required they sow confusion. Even the weapon of denunciation—the sword of Lenin against traitors—is blunted in their hands. They crack their voices in slandering honest opponents; when they try to screech against real betrayers their stock of epithets is exhausted and they are too hoarse to be heard. As for the socialist "Militants", they belie their name by their silence in the face of the black betrayal of the textile workers. They have not yet learned to criticize the traitors. Will such people lead a fight against them?

A NEW VANGUARD IMMEDIATELY

No! The workers need a new revolutionary party. Even a vanguard organization of a few thousand, if it understands the trade union question and penetrates deeply into the mass movement, can become the crystallizing agent for a colossal progressive movement in a short time. The times are favorable for the launching of such a party. Its program has been worked out in the years of principled struggle against revisionism and reaction. Sufficient forces are at hand to make a beginning. As the two most important independent groups, the American Workers Party and the Communist League bear a heavy responsibility. It is their duty to get together and set the new movement into motion. The tragedy of the textile workers is another warning against delay.

Youth Unite Against Fascists

Sponsored by the Young Peoples Socialist League, a united front conference was held in New York City last Thursday to consider a counter-demonstration to the Yankee Stadium pageant planned as a greeting to 300 Italian Fascist students. The invited organizations included the Young Communist League, the National Student League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition, and the Spartacus Youth League.

Prior to the conference the Young Communist League had sent a letter to the Y.P.S.L. (published in the **Daily Worker** of Sept. 27, 1934, under the head "Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. Take Step for Joint Action") clearly stating that the invitation of the Lovestoneites and the Spartacus Youth League places "insuperable obstacles in the way of achieving unity". Their scurrilous attacks on the "Trotskyites" are once again repeated. In fact it is only the latest step in a systematic campaign of the Y.C.L. against the Spartacus Youth. The **Young Worker** (Sept. 25, 1934) devotes a great deal of space to explaining why the Y.C.L. cannot make a united front with the "Trotskyites".

While the Y.C.L. absented itself from the conference, the National Student League sent observers. The latter, at the opening of the meeting, explained why they could not participate in the united front: the N.S.L. and the S.L.I.D. had already made arrangements for a demonstration on October 12th (which the S.L.I.D. delegate denied) and the Y.P.S.L. had barred the participation of the Y.C.L. by inviting objectionable groups—the Lovestoneites and the S.Y.L.

The stammerings of the N. S. L. delegate to questions on the statement showed that the National Student League which denies its Stalinist character refused to participate in the united front because of the presence of the Lovestoneites and Spartacus Youth League.

Ben Fisher of the Y.P.S.L. replied to the N.S.L. by stating that when his organization made the offer of united front they had good reason to believe that it would be accepted by the Y.C.L. In Belgium, the Yipsels, the Y.C.L. and the Trotskyist youth formed a united front. In Spain the Communist party recently joined the united front which includes the Socialists and the Trotskyists.

The Spartacus Youth League submitted a statement on the Y.C.L. refusal to join the united front.

Despite requests that the N.S.L. remain as observers they stated that they had no proposals to make and saw no reason for staying.

The conference then proceeded to discuss the draft of the united front

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Relief System Endangered In New York

Once again the unemployed relief structure of the city of New York broke down, throwing thousands of desperate workers to the mercies of conniving politicians and banks demanding their pound of flesh. But poorly-fed, badly-clothed, destitute human beings are not to be trifled with. The capitalists and their flunkeys know that jobs or relief must be forthcoming or the jobless will take matters in their own hands—individually or collectively.

After a bitter fight the city administration adopted a three point program to raise fifty million dollars. It calls for a tax of 1/10 of one percent of gross receipts of business in excess of $15,000; a city tax amounting to 15% of the Federal income tax, additional to all present income tax; and a municipal relief membership association, which is a disguised public lottery.

The Chamber of Commerce and other business organizations are up in arms. They will not stand for it. They propose a 2c levy on subway and other fares. They want to pass the burden of maintaining the jobless on to the workers. In the meantime the unemployed are organizing for the fight.

A review of the unemployment relief situation in New York City will give one a picture of the efforts of the crisis upon the working class and the problems of a new permanent army of millions of unemployed. More than one million workers are on the relief list, one family out of every seven in the city. Mr. Hodson, head of the Welfare Department, estimates the number will increase to two million by the end of the year. Over 500,000 families are obtaining relief in one form or another. The demand for relief increases at the rate of 1,500 daily. New applicants for relief are skilled workers and professional men. Many workers from these categories have been unemployed for years and having used up their savings and are now forced to apply for relief.

In September, about 125,000 heads of families were on work relief, and the Bureau of Homeless and Transient were lodging over 4,000 a night, which is only a small part of the workers who need shelter. Considering the additional number of unemployed who are not on the relief list in any form and you have a vast army of unemployed whose morale is being lowered unless they find their way out through active struggle.

Jobless Will Demonstrate November 24th

Five years of crisis and unemployment have wrecked the homes and lives of millions of unemployed workers and the coming sixth winter promises to be the most miserable of all. Millions are on the brink of starvation, forced to subsist on miserable relief pittances. Unless the unemployed organize and battle with greater determination and militancy than ever before the boss class and their government will slash the present dole into ribbons, and with it will go wage cuts for the employed.

Several unemployed organizations of the United States held a two day conference in Chicago and elected a Committee of Action which is calling upon all unemployed organizations of the country for a united demonstration on November 24. Organizations participating in this conference included the National Unemployed Leagues, Illinois Workers' Alliance, Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers of America, Ft. Wayne Unemployed Leagues, Minneapolis Central Council of Workers and organizations from Missouri, Wisconsin, Florida, etc.

The Committee of Action calls for a demonstration throughout the nation before city and county relief boards on Saturday, November 24. At the same time a committee representing the nation's unemployed will present their demands at Washington.

The demands follow:

1. Pending the passage of Unemployment Relief, direct cash relief at the rate of $10 a week for single persons, $15 a week for a family of two, and $4 a week for each additional person be paid.
2. Public works to provide work for the unemployed upon the basis of $30 per week for 30 hours, with the payment of skilled workers at union rates.
3. That the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill be enacted.
4. That the right of all workers on public works to organize and engage in collective bargaining be granted.
5. That representatives of organized unemployed before relief administrators be recognized.
6. That Federal adequate disability compensation on all public projects also to and from jobs be provided.
7. That all war funds be turned over for unemployment relief.

The unemployed workers, together with the organized employed workers must make this a powerful demonstration.

FOR THE NEW PARTY

(Appeal of the National Committee, Communist League of America)

A year ago, after the full force of the German debacle had been clearly registered, and the responsibility of the Second and Third Internationals for the triumph of Fascism no less clearly established, the Communist League proclaimed the need for a new revolutionary party and a new International.

All that has transpired since that time has only served to confirm the correctness of that position, and we repeat it today with firmer conviction. More, we have reason to hope that the idea of a year ago can become a reality in the near future. We are sure in any case that a beginning can be made to give organizational form to the idea of the new party in America, the first section of the Fourth International in an important capitalist country.

Our forces have grown. The **Militant** has doubled its circulation. We have added a monthly theoretical magazine, the **New International,** to our arsenal. The Spartacus Youth have acquired a national organization. We have taken part in strikes and mass activities and proved our mettle in them. Our circle of sympathizers and our influence in other movements have expanded. From every standpoint we are in a stronger position and surer of our future than we were a year ago.

In addition, while drawing the line dividing us from reformism and centrism more sharply, we have consistently sought to find a basis of cooperation and a common standpoint with other independent groups. In the case of the Gitlow group we met with failure due to the inability of this group to take a firm principled position. Discussions and negotiations and experiments in practical cooperation with the American Workers Party, on the other hand, were more fruitful. We hope that the negotiations now pending will result in an early fusion of the two organizations. This will make the formal organization of the new party possible.

It is our desire to contribute our full share to this historic enterprise. Not only ideas but material forces as well. The stronger the Communist League, the stronger the new party at its inception. We must devote the coming weeks to an intensive campaign of organization and agitation to prepare the way for the auspicious launching of the new party. By building the League we are building the foundations of the new party.

This present campaign has two parts:

First: Build up the organization. Systematically canvass all sympathizers and ask them to join the League now. Appeal for new members at every meeting. Organize the membership drive in every branch under the slogan: **Recruit Every Sympathizer into the League!**

Second: Raise a new party fund. Provide the organization with the means to increase its activities, strengthen its press and send organizers into the field. Every member should make a special sacrifice. Affairs should be organized to raise funds. Sympathizers should be asked to contribute. "New Party Certificates" in the amounts of one dollar and five dollars are being printed. Buy them and sell them. Let us redouble our activities, strengthen and tighten up our organization in preparation for a leap forward.

We are going to call the roll in this campaign which, we hope, will be the prelude for the definite transformation of our organization from a propaganda circle into a political movement. Sign your name to the roll call with a contribution and send it to:

THE MILITANT,
144 Second Avenue,
New York City.

Blackshirts a Challenge to N.Y. Labor

Three hundred and fifty Italian university students landed in this country last week. They are Fascist students, sent by a Fascist government to show us the "marvelous" results of Fascist training. Let us consider a few facts about them.

The Italian universities are not scientific institutions; they are Fascist propaganda institutions. The professors must all take an oath of loyalty to Mussolini before they may teach; all their teachings are censored; to criticize the government means to be fired and jailed. The middle class youth is taught to believe in the brutal reactionary "theories" of Mussolini, and to prepare to take its part in the oppression and persecution of workers, which alone enables Italian capitalism to continue its exploitation of the Italian masses.

Parrots Not Students

The students must belong to the Fascist Student Groups, where they are under the orders of the Fascist party. On this trip to the U. S., they are under the orders of Giovanni Poli, a Fascist brigand and tyrant. Most of the students, entirely without independence, are satisfied to repeat like parrots the vicious nonsense taught them by their corrupted professors. Should any student dare raise a question, he is expelled from the university, beaten and tortured, perhaps jailed.

These students are qualified to do three things. In the first place, they can tyrannize over oppressed workers. Secondly, they are "patriots", that is to say, they are trained to fight to defend Italian capitalism against foreign capitalists and Italian workers. Their organization publishes a newspaper: its name is "Book and Rifle". The third thing these students can do very well is to live well off the products of other people's labor. In return for their "patriotic" services, they get fat jobs and free trips to the U. S.—on money sweated out of the wretched masses of Italian workers and peasants.

Fontamara's Challenge

Just as they arrived there is beign published a novel called **Fontamara,** written by an Italian, Ignazio Silone, and forbidden in Italy. While the Italian students are here trying to tell us how wonderful life is under Fascism in Italy, we can read Silone's true picture of the misery of the Italian peasantry today. These Fascist students are going to visit many universities where American students friendly to the labor movement will be in contact with them. They should be confronted with a copy of **Fontamara** wherever they go. Let these students know we are aware from **Fontamara** and other sources of the truth about the foul and brutal regime in their country.

It is interesting to note that the Italian Fascist students were received at New York's city hall by Mayor F. H. La Guardia. This "liberal" gentleman, who the other day had no time to attend a dinner of the Italian local of the garment workers, delighted to honor the spawn of the labor-hating, murderous Italian Fascists!

On Columbus Day this band of Fascists will attend a celebration at Yankee Stadium. A good time to let them know what the workers think of them! What was characteristic of Columbus—an enquiring mind and indomitable courage—is foreign to Fascism; their minds are against inquiry on principle; for courage they substitute bestiality.

Down With Mussolini!

Our comrade, Leon Trotsky, hounded and persecuted by every government in Europe, cannot enter this country. Are we to be silent while these 350 parasitic Fascists tour around the country, spreading their poisonous propaganda against the workers' interests?

It would be well if many labor organizations were to unite in a counter-demonstration. Liberals, Socialists, Communists, trade unionists are being tortured in Italy today by the thousands just as they are in Germany. The Communist League, for one, is ready to participate in a united anti-Fascist demonstration on Columbus Day.

It is not enough to publish articles in radical papers. Let us go into the streets on Columbus Day and demonstrate against Fascist oppression and militarism and against those who are "honoring" these Fascists here!

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Green & Co. in Control as A. F. L. Convention Opens in San Fransisco

Left Wing Lacks Clear Program and Capable Leadership

On October the first the Fifty-Fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held in San Francisco. This convention comes upon the heels of the Frisco general strike. The eyes of the nation will be focussed on the convention and its outcome. The class conscious workers well remember that it was William Green's role in the Frisco strike that helped the bosses break the strike. It was Green who issued the statement of opposition to sympathy strikes. And in spite of their strike-breaking role in the Frisco strike Green and Company come to this city as leaders of the American labor movement.

This clearly reveals to the class conscious workers that one of the main tasks confronting us today, and the task which determines our road to the masses is the extension of left wing influence in the trade unions.

Meets After NRA Period

This convention meets after a storm period under the NRA. All the promises offered labor under the NRA have turned into rainbows. In its major aspects, Niraism has not fulfilled its objectives and has broken down. While the labor skates meet in Frisco, President Roosevelt and his administration are reorganizing the NRA from top to bottom to save what they can to enable the NRA to continue creating a more favorable basis for cartels and monopolies, eliminating the small producers, and tightening the grip upon labor. In this sense the NRA work to date has been a success. But as an instrument to bring back prosperity, to bring order out of capitalist chaos, to revive the basic industries, and to start a new era of capitalism, the NRA has failed.

What will the labor leaders in convention say about this? What will they say about the fulfillment of Section 7a in the auto settlement, the steel settlement, and now the textile strike settlement?—to say nothing of the strike movements that have swept the nation in two gigantic waves, with indications that a new and higher wave is on the horizon.

Fakers Lie About Facts

These conservative labor leaders cannot tell the truth about this. Their very existence as "labor leaders" depends upon their skill in lying about these facts, their ability to confuse the issues and make the NRA scheme of suppression look like an instrument for the workers' salvation. They will speak about its shortcomings and criticize the NRA—not for the protection of the workers—but in order to obtain more posts in the NRA and on the Labor Boards.

One thing is sure. The reactionary leaders will confront more opposition in the present convention than they have had to contend with for a long time. The opposition is not yet an organized, conscious revolutionary force. It is a new progressive opposition to the reactionary leaders and their policy.

The New Opposition

This opposition came into being under the impact of the new developments in the American labor movement: the changing class relations, the prolonged crisis and unemployment, the Europeanization of the American workers, the increase in the number of semi-skilled workers brought into unions for the first time, the precarious position of the skilled workers as the basis for the reactionary control of the A. F. of L., and the new developments under the NRA.

The most negative element in the opposition forces are the Stalinists and their false policy. These methods have had disastrous effect upon communist activity in reactionary trade unions. If the Stalinist policy in the trade union movement, to say nothing of their general policy, had been swept aside by the American Communist movement the present opposition would be a full grown power instead of a movement in its infancy. It is a force which is feeling its way along and will have to learn through its own mistakes and will have to retrace many steps already covered, thanks to Stalinism.

Opposition Is Heterogeneous

A firm crystallization of this new progressive opposition has not been established upon a national scale. The Stalinists are attempting to make up for lost time, but are still mainly on the outside looking in. The Socialists, in the main, and especially the right wing, have played a reactionary role. The **New Leader** in a recent issue even defends William Green against the position of the Left socialists.

This opposition to the reactionary leaders has developed in struggle. It has placed its main emphasis on strike struggles as a means to obtain its objectives under the NRA, and has contended that the unions will obtain gains to the extent that they are able to force recognition. In carrying out this policy these new opposition and progressive forces run counter to the class collaboration policies of the leadership and sooner or later a clear-cut struggle between a policy of class struggle and class collaboration will develop in the different unions. In the auto workers' and in the steel workers' struggles these tendencies could be seen.

Incipient Revolts

The opposition to the leaders developed, but was not strong enough to gain its ends. In the auto workers' union the opposition forces did not crystallize until after Green's sell-out, and then assumed the dangerous form of a split, in which company union influence appeared.

In the steel workers' struggle the rank and file committee took the power out of the hands of Tighe and Company, but was outmaneuvered.

In the textile strike the opposition to McMahon brought on the strike. They had to fight the leaders every inch of the way, but the horse-trading of Rieve, the socialist, weakened the strike struggle before it started and enabled the reactionary leaders to control the strike and betray it at the oppor-

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A.F.L. Leaders Plot Against Food Strike

BULLETIN

The cafeteria strike conducted by local 302 of the A. F. of L. has spread to practically every union house in Manhattan and the Bronx.

The Restaurant Owners Association is doing its utmost to break the strike. Information which leaked out of the offces of the Association's lawyer, Mr. Shapiro, confirms the fears of members of Local 302, namely: that J. Kearney and W. Lehman, both International Vice Presidents, reached an agreement with the Association to lock out all the workers belonging to Local 302 and sign new contracts with a local to be known as local 304 at wages of $25 per week for countermen and $14 for girls. $3 will be deducted from this princely sum for meals.

To smash the strike and get local 302 out of the way, Kearney and the Association decided to close the doors of every shop where a strike is in progress and reopen under new names. Many cafeterias have already closed in the Bronx and many more will close tonight.

At the Navarre cafeteria, where a strike was in progress, the Industrial Union pulled out the unskilled help belonging to their union and the bosses were forced to close the establishment.

The fight now taking place is against a new wage cut demanded by the bosses. The union, on the other hand, is demanding the restoration of a five dollar wage cut they took a year ago.

Whether or not local 302 wins the strike depends on the militancy of the strikers who are still in high spirits. And also on whether Local 302 can smash the sell-out agreement between J. Kearny and the Association.

THE NEED FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of New International
Sunday, October 21, 8 P.M.
at Bronx Free Fellowship
1591 Boston Road, Bronx
(Corner Suburban Place)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Bayonets and the General Strike

"National Guard Bayonets Open Georgia Mills"—headline in capitalist press. Bayonets can't run looms, but hunger can force the weaker, less determined strikers into the mills. The failure of the A. F. of L. to support the strike with relief under such conditions is as much a part of strikebreaking as the National Guard itself.

* * *

"Preparedness"

Sales of tear gas—vomit gas and machine guns increased 5 to 10 per cent due to the textile strike. "We only sell to corporations when the local police approve."—"Would you sell to labor organizations?"—"We received no requests from labor."—testimony before the Munitions Commission. The A. F. of L. fakers favor war preparations by the United States, always with the excuse "other governments are armisg. We must be prepared." That argument, even if granted, should mean that these same gentlemen should have spent some of their fat treasuries to equip strikers so that they would be able to meet the enemy on equal ground. Against machine guns and vomit gas—the workers need, machine guns and vomit gas.

* * *

Itching Palms—Police and Clergy

That a munitions salesman had the N. Y. police "in the palm of his hand" indicates that besides racketeers, bootleggers and open shop bosses, munitions makers also crossed the itching palms of New York's "finest" with gold. That's another little item made public by the munitions inquiry. Whenever and wherever any probe is made into graft, crime and wholesale murder, the whole capitalist system, its coercive and persuasive arms are shown reeking with graft. Praying to God with Indians in the evening and selling gas bombs and gas "billies" in the morning was the double role of the Rev. Paul Young, Christian Alliance Missionary to Equador and brother of John W. Young, munitions manufacturer. Or was it really a double role? Christian prayers (opium) to befuddle the minds, gas grenades to ruin the body. Both are weapons of imperialism in enslaving colonial peoples.—His card: "Reverend Paul Young, Christian Alliance Missionary, Representing God and the Munition Company. Prayers and Poison Gas Our Specialty.—**Please give a few pennies to Christianize the Heathen.**" And such are the forces of "good government", of "law and order", the "spiritual forces of our nation" which must be saved from Communism by armed drunken Legionaire morons.

* * *

The "Red Joiner"

One of our readers has come to our rescue when we were faced with a shortage of copy and submitted the following poem:

* * *

Ichabod Blechedick Wallingford Cohen
Was a Stalinist victim who was constantly goin,
From meeting to meeting
Of this or that Org,
At the end of a year
He was fit for the Morgue.

He paid dues in the Party, the T.U.U.L.,
The Workers Theayter and A.F. of L.
The Toothpick Designers,
The Freiheit Vereiners,
The 14th Street Miners—
He joined them as well.

He was one of the prancers
Of Harlem's Red Dancers,
He just missed getting into
The fighting Red Lancers,
But nothing distressed,
He flocked with the rest
To the Bolshevik Band of the Banning of Cancers.

With Father Divine who embodied the Lord
He joined in the Group for Fostering Ford,
Every day for the Worker he'd garner his sub
And get credited for it at the Pelham Bay Club.

On every vacation
Some new Federation
He joined with a greeting, a shout and a whoop,

And despite his neuritis,
Lumbago and Croup,
He joined with the Haircurlers Progressive Group.

He faithfully joined with the S.M.I.U.,
The League for Defense of the Eskimos, too.
Like a good proletarian,
He turned vegetarian,
There was hardly an outfit he didn't go through.

At each demonstration
He made his donation,
And uttered the slogans he learned in the book.
For the first Earl of Browder
He would shout out still louder,
And there wasn't a paper which he didn't took.

Mellon's Stolen Millions

Every once in a while the democratic mask behind which capitalism hides its face, slips and we see strange things.

For example, take the case of Andrew W. Mellon. Not so long ago Andrew Mellon was "America's greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Hamilton". Today, in one of those periodic reform waves that the U. S. goes through every few years or so, Andrew Mellon has a tax suit filed against him by the present administration. The facts revealed in the government's brief against Mellon will astound only those who have never looked into such doings before.

In 1931 Mellon deducted $5,672,189.95 from his taxable income on the grounds of a business loss incurred in selling Pittsburgh Coal Co. stock to the Union Trust Co. of Pittsburgh. Now that, to the ordinary citizen sounds fair enough. After all, you can't tax a man for money he hasn't got. But there is a catch in this one. For upon investigation it turns out that the Union Trust Co. is controlled by Mellon and his brother, so that when Meloln sold Pittsburgh Coal Co. stock to the Union Trust Co., he sold it to himself and no actual stock or money transfer was involved.

The process did not end there, however. A few months later the Union Trust Co. sold the same stock to the Coalesced Co. for much less than the stock was worth. Upon investigation, lo and behold, Mellon had again sold the stock to himself, for the Coalesced Co. was composed of only three stockholders; Mellon, his son and his daughter, and was organized as a family holding Corporation to avoid gift and inheritance taxes. And so there it stands. The Mellon family still owns the stock and has saved itself a milion dollars in taxes, the government is out a million or so, and we, that is we who are unemployed or are on relief, have that much less to feed our children with.

One has to bear in mind that during all these transactions Mellon was Secretary of the United States Treasury and that at the same time there sat on the Senate Finance Committee, Senator David A. Reed, friend and attorney for Mellon. These men were responsible for the collection of taxes, many a poor man's house or farm was taken away for non-payment of taxes. There is no evading the law for a poor man.

Yet for themselves and for their class, men like Mellon discovered plenty of lawful ways of evading the law. The investigation of the Senate Banking Committee into the National City Bank and the Morgan house certainly bears this out.

One would suppose that the "New Deal" administration could collect these back taxes of Mellon, Mitchell, Morgan, etc. and place these men where they belong, behind bars. No such thing! For though we may be living under a democracy, it is a capitalist democracy and as such, our law is capitalist law. Mellon after all did nothing unlawful, and the Grand Jury did not even indict him. And indeed, except for a few scapegoats thrown out as a sop to the public, the net result of all the banking investigations has been nothing much.

The most amusing sidelight on the Mellon case is the attitude expressed by the **Post,** New York's most liberal paper. After delivering a smashing editorial indictment against Mellon and the whole Harding-Hoover crew, it finally comes to the crux of the matter. "The system was not just rotten on the edges. It was rotten to the core" says the **Post.** This implies, of course, that the system under the New Deal is better. And, concludes the **Post,** after condemning the rottenness of the Republican Party, "The Grand Old Party cannot be rebuilt. It must be replaced by a conservative party freed from the curse of avarice."

There you have expressed in a nutshell the liberal's idea of the State. The State is a delicate balance between conservative and progressive forces, and since the New Deal is under the guidance of a progressive party group, what is needed in order to balance the state and keep it steady, is a new conservative party, "free from avarice" of course. A conservative party, or for that matter a liberal party "free from avarice"! What nonsense! Here we are, living under a system where nothing is produced except for profit, where the main incentive for the functioning of society rests on avarice, and the **Post** solemnly suggests that a party which seeks above all to maintain that system can itself be free from avarice.

Graft and corruption are not attributes of the Republican Party. They are attributes of any party that seeks to maintain the capitalist system, whether that party be Hoover's Raw Deal Party or Roosevelt's National Run Around.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

African Laundry Workers

National Executive Committee,
Communist League of America,
c/o Militant,
New York City.
Dear Comrades,

The Committee of this Union instructs me to send you the enclosed message. Upon being put to the vote at a fully represented meeting, it was decided, unanimously to despatch it. The enclosed slip was signed so as to enable all the committeemen to attach their signatures.

The Union already has 344 members, and we have every expectation of increasing this number to five or six hundred in the near future. I believe our membership constitutes a record for South Africa, as far as Bantu workers, organized in a single union, are concerned. The Bantu workers, and people generally, are the most oppressed and exploited section. Unfortunately the Bantu workers are not very far removed from their pastoral-peasant origin and have no mature experience or tradition in the trade union movement. Our task is, therefore, more difficult on the organizational side. This Union collapsed twice within its very short existence, due to the incompetence and cowardice to the leadership established by the Communist Party and African Federation of Trade Unions. We shall not collapse, though we may be beaten temporarily, on one or another occasion.

We have in prospect several strikes which shall be called in the near future, although we have gained certain concessions (indirectly) without outright strikes. Naturally, the bosses will not give in so easily upon the more important issues.

Our policy is,—Against the Conciliation Act, its machinery, and conciliation in any form.

Against Governmental Arbitration under the Wage Act of 1925.

For militant strike struggle against the bosses—as the only way to gain some of our rights, and to keep them once they are gained.

For unequivocal union recognition.

For intransigeant struggle for the right to strike of the Bantu workers.

For abolition of the Pass Laws, Riotous Assemblies Act, Masters and Servants Acts, and all other legislation which oppresses the workers generally, or prevents them from withholding their labor and restricts their liberty in any way.

With Fraternal greetings,
MURRAY G. PURDY
General Secretary

To the Comrades of the Communist League of America:

The African Laundry Workers Union hereby pledges its support to the Fourth International. We believe that only by militant struggle against the oppressers can the workers achieve success. The Third International and the Communist Party of South Africa has failed us twice. We start again under the leadership of the Bolshevik-Leninist League. The workers of South Africa will never again allow themselves to be led to disaster by the Communist Party and its Federation, A.F.T.U. Our struggle is very great; our union has no legal basis; our workers have no legal right to strike; nevertheless, we shall fight on until the victorious workers' dictatorship is established.

With Fraternal Greetings,
THE COMMITTEE

Mishack Sanyane (Chairman), Emil Mosito, Johannes Mashigo, Malekia Segale, Abton Moatlhodi, Alfred Dhlamini, Henry Mathibeli, Asine Mauane, James Tlhongwane, Jorene Pooe, Michael Huma, Fanuel Mashishi, Joas Mogotsi, Josiah Masilo, Mishak Sikobe (Assistant Treasurer), Murry Purdy (Secretary, Reuben Mngade (Organizer).

Pocketbook Strike Bulletin

The latest developments of the pocketbook workers' strike are as follows: Over 5,000 workers are on strike. The New Jersey local called its members on strike this week. Fifty non-union shops were closed, adding another 500 workers to the strike. Fifteen employers settled with the union and granted the union demands—36 hours and a ten percent increase in wages.

The Regional Labor Board intervened and called the union and the employers together. Two conferences were held but without success. The bosses are stubborn and refuse to grant the just demands of thew orkers.

The strike committee must now concentrate on the rest of the non-union shops such as Goldberg Bros., the M. White shop in Bridgeport, and Chicks in Bethlehem. The strike committee must organize mass picketing for next Monday and see to it that not a single shop operates in the city of New York and vicinity.

—POCKETBOOK WORKER.

BROWNSVILLE LECTURE

Second, Third or Fourth International?

Speaker:
TOM STAMM

Friday, October 5, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue

Button Workers Strike

At a general mass meeting on September 25, the covered button makers, local 132 I.L.G.W., decided unanimously to strike the following morning. A new agreement, differing in no way from the old one, was read. In other words: all the administration wanted was the renewal of the old agreement.

The main demands, therefore, remain as before: 37½ hour work week and $36 a week for skilled workers (those who can produce the required amount of buttons per hour). The women workers are entirely excluded from this category. Moreover, the scale of production is so steep that very few enjoy this wage level.

Many employers have already signed pledges to renew their contracts with the union. Many other hesitant bosses rushed to the union office to sign the new contract when they heard of the general membership meeting. There is nothing astonishing in this since no wage increases or hour reductions were demanded by the union. Besides the officials promised to send those workers back to work in the shops where the employers had signed the pledge the very next morning. Result: Only a handful remained on strike. And with these few workers the administration hopes to unionize the open shops.

This scheme was foisted on the union by high powered salesmanship. Henry Jaeger, Socialist party member and intimate friend of the local manager, used his talent to convince the workers that they should not ask for more money but be contented with the little they have. The administration, he argued, knew what was best for the members. The manager of the local joined the chorus with a plea to cooperate with the decent bosses. The steam roller finished the job.

The objective conditions were favorable or a successful strike. In many shops, the errand boys, very important in this trade, were on the verge of being organized by the Shipping Clerks Union. The unity of these two unions in a common fight against the bosses would stop the shipping or receiving buttons in the shops. This would be a great weapon in the hands of the workers. The strike would assume a militant character and the demands of the button workers and errand boys would be won.

But of course the myopic administration did not think it necessary to ask for raises nor to strengthen the ranks of these newly organized workers. Fearing a fight, the administration would sooner "cooperate" with the bosses.

"Reward" Your Friends"

With the faith that moves mountains, but never the Democratic or Republican Party, the labor fakers who head the American Federation of Labor are sending out again this year their timeworn questionnaires to political candidates, seeking their views on legislation backed by organized labor.

"The questionaire," says the N. Y. **Times,** with no attempt at irony, "is in line with the traditional policy of the A. F. of L., which has been seeking to elect randidates favorable to its poliries for many years."

Since 1908, to be exact, when the A. F. of L. adopted the policy of favoring no political party, of setting up no labor candidates, but in general "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies".

The policy has worked each election period with uniform results—there were never any friends to reward.

Take Orders from Bosses Only

Candidates of both major parties have refused somehow or other to take orders from the A. F. of L., and instead have maintained allegiance to the political bosses who were responsible for their nomination.

Some have made promises to labor and have broken these promises. The rest have never even bothered to promise. Political parties have been deaf alike to the pleadings and "threats" of the A. F. of L.

Occasionally some smiling demagogue, like President Roosevelt, accepts the proffered hand of friendship, slaps Bill Green warmly on the back, and presents a paper program full of warmth and sympathy for organized labor. This program he will not, he dare not, keep.

Thus labor is granted Section 7a of the National Recovery Act, and, in the same breath, capital is granted the privilege of violating it with complete impunity.

Rights and Rights

Labor is given the right to organize, and capital the right to crush such organization, with the full support of government forces, with Federal tear gas and bullets.

Even as every citizen has the right to freedom of speech and assemblage. Exercise it if you dare!

Nevertheless, Bill Green and his cohorts do not despair. They return each year to their shameful betrayal as "a dog returns to his vomit".

Again this year, therefore, the political candidates will receive in their mail the usual questionnaires, seeking their views on such questions as old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, labor injunctions and yellow dog contracts. They will answer as they have answered before, and Bill Green will pretend to be satisfied or unhappy over their replies.

A "Dark Horse" for Green

But a new element has entered the game of questions and answers this year; an element that causes Bill Green many a sleepless night. The masses of labor, the rank-and-file workers have grown tired of the game. The issues are being fought not in the ballot box.

The workers in the textile industry, the victorious strikers in Minneapolis, the betrayed longshoremen of the West Coast, do not need to ask where the leading candidates stand on labor. They know!

They know that a Governor Olson and President Roosevelt will grant only what they are forced to grant. That the strikers will win recognition of their union by fighting for it on the strike battlefield; that company unions will be outlawed when the workers outlaw them; that injunctions against labor will cease when the workers learn to disregard them.

And when that time comes to pass, as it is coming to pass, the workers will elect their own candidates; or failing that, there will be no lack of demagogues from the major parties who will offer them what they have already won—the right to fight for their rights! And sops will be thrown in for good measure: unemployment insurance and old age pensions as well.

PATERSON

MASS MEETING

THE TEXTILE STRIKE SETTLEMENT

What Shall the Textile Workers Do?

A Program for the Silk Workers.

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON and A. J. MUSTE

Sunday, September 30, 8 P.M.

OAKLEY HALL

211 Market Street, Paterson

ADMISSION FREE

Joint Auspices:
Communist League of America and American Workers Party

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Credit System

The contradictions inherent in capitalist society owing to the impossibility of reconciling the profit motive with the needs of society, are nowhere more manifest than in the banking system and its handling of credit. In modern society credit is a powerful instrument for converting into capital the savings and property of the non-capitalist classes, thereby aiding the more intensified exploitation of wage-earners. Credit accelerates the development of the capitalist system of production. In normal times it makes available through the banks, the reservoirs of credits, the "dead" capital in the form of "free" funds for more effective utilization by the capitalist class. Through control of the credit system the banks aid in the elimination of the small producer for the benefit of the larger ones.

But the extensive utilization of credit by modern industry introduces the greatest uncertainty into the whole process of production. When times are booming the banks find it profitable to lend on easy terms with good prospect of payment. New capital is created at rapid tempo and the resulting expansion of the productive forces leads ultimately to a glut of the market and the inevitable crisis. The boom period is accompanied by feverish speculation; all business takes on the character of speculation. But the moment the market can no longer absorb the vast quantities of commodities made available by free use of loans and credit which become converted into capital, the credit system collapses. The banks make frantic efforts to "call" all loans, to get rid of all securities and investments that are not liquid. With all banks attempting the same thing at the same time, credit disappears and money itself becomes scarce. Since production no longer offers any profits, the banks refuse loans to business men when they are most in need of credit, the factories begin to shut down and production comes to a halt in many industries.

* * *

Attempt to Control Credit

The "immediate" effect of a crisis is to make it impossible for the debtors to pay their debts. The apologists of capitalism, who refuse to recognize that it is the very mode of production itself that inevitably leads to crises, blame the collapse on the speculation that accompanies the boom in production. They cry out against the creation of a debt load through the enormous expansion of bank holdings of securities, loans on securities, and loans on real estate, a load that has become an impossible burden to carry. Hence in order to bring about some sort of "balance" they want to impose strict limits on credit, but without interfering with the credit necessary for the production and exchange of current goods (as though this were not a "gamble" in capitalist production). Thus the first step taken in reforming the banks was to separate the commercial banks lending money on and for current production, from the securities floating banks which are concerned with speculation by granting loans on capital assets. Stricter supervision and regulation of the issuance of securities was intended to reduce the unbalancing effects of the creation of these long-term, non-liquid credits which, unlike commercial credits, are not soon balanced or cancelled by the sale of goods. As a matter of fact, back of this "reform" is a clear recognition that the entire system is decaying and can no longer expand as rapidly, if at all, as in the days gone by.

* * *

A Government Central Bank

In conjunction with the rest of its efforts to "force" recovery, the government bent every effort to prepare the banking structure for a new expansion of business by aiding the banks in freeing all frozen assets, the government kindly taking over these unpayable debts for government bonds and relatively liquid assets. In repayment the government tried every form of cajolery to have the banks liberalize their commercial credit policy, to start business going again. But it reckoned without the market f,or despite all the excess reserves of the banks, there was no sign of any great increase in real demand. The banks had no confidence that they could make profits and hence they kept their money in their vaults. Meantime the Federal Government has embarked on spending unprecedentedly enormous sums of money in order to salvage the capitalist system and to prevent revolution. The government therefore feels a double need for greater control over the credit system: first, to extend credit more rapidly to business, and secondly, to protect its own financing by manipulating its own funds and securities to keep them up in price. The whole program dictated by the competition between national forms of capitalism, would be facilitated by greater government control. Hence the agitation for a Central Bank. **—JACK WEBER.**

The Discipline of Failure

What is wrong in the ranks of the Stalinists?

Michael Quin thinks the Party needs a "Chitska" (cleansing). He would have the rank and filers perform the operation upon themselves since, possibly, it is a little too early for the American Party to strike so strenuously as did the U.S.S.R., according to Quin; "Kicking out only 90,000 members." We should be satisfied, maybe, with a loss of about 9 of the so-called riff raff so as not to overshoot our income too far, What?

Nerves raw, and minds in a chatic turmoil from an endless round of futile and impotent gestures made by a self-imposed and shoddie leadership, the rank and file of the C. P. are so jittery that the leaders think it is time to thrash them openly, as Quin proceeds in the usual contradictory manner, to do.

In a typical grandiose flourish of his pen, Quin succeeds, graphically in exposing the rapid growth of moral disintegration in the ranks. As usual, the Comrades are blamed for all, while the bureaucracy, by the process, pushes itself still further up and away from its foundation, into oblivious isolation.

Quin's **Western Worker** column, "Seeing Red" contains, in a recent issue, some rich highlights on the state of affairs to which bureaucracy and trips into blind alleys have reduced the Party.

After warning the Comrades of the "Chitska" recently enacted in the U.S.S.R., he calls upon the rank and file to perform the same operation, each for himself, lest he go completely berserk.

"There are," he says, "lots of little minor contageous diseases rampant among us."

"Perhaps the most distressing and dangerous disease of all is DISGUSTITUS," he warns the Comrades, and goes on to say of them, "—they never miss the slightest opportunity to sneer, ridicule, slander, beef, whine, complain or register DISGUST. The only thing they regard as humorous is the opportunity to laugh at some Comrade who has made a mistake somewhere or according to their lights, made a fool of himself."

Does Comrade Quin know his dialectic materialism? Does man reflect his environment or is he the god of the idea a priori? In fact, has there ever been a time when the average member of the C. P. has been free of that terrible illness, DISGUSTITUS? And who can hold these thoroughly abused Comraes responsible for "blowing up at the slightest opportunity and sneering, ridiculing, slandering, beefing, whining, complaining, and registering DISGUST?" There are literally thousands of good militant workers in America who got this same way, and for the identical reasons, and finally left the impossible environment of EARMUFFS, MUZZLES, AND BLINKERS: the old C. P. Michale Quin has been kind enough to name the only other alternative for them. That is to laugh at the mistakes made, and at the COMRADE LEADERS who make fools of themselves. Michael Quin should realize that in such a mad-house, men and women must have some kind of a vent or explode. We who have been there, well recall the necessity to right-about-face and LAUGH at mistakes. Regarding the rank and file comrades making fools of themselves, they never have been given that opportunity. The bureaucracy beat them to it. And now it is crying because the comrades show signs, even, of recognising what has happened to them.

"There are", says Quin, "any number of hair-spring tempers among our comrades which need tightening up. Whether these are caused by lack of proper diet (mental?), or lack of self-discipline is hard to say. The slightest slip-up dislodges from them a torrent of vocal violence which if expressed in action would demolish a city block."

Well, Comrade Quin, what would you have? A torrent of vocal violence, of course! Regarding these torrents occuring at the least slip up, we have a sneaking idea that the slip ups are improperly described. We feel sure that the recent slip-up in the San Francisco strike; the slip-up of setting up a paper dual union against the huge rank and file of the I.L.A. only to have it thoroughly repudiated by the general rank and file workers, is much more than a "least slip-up", we think that was a MONSTROUS CRIME. It's a mighty wonder to us that the "vocal violence" has not already been expressed in "ACTION", and demolished the city block where lies the C. P. bureaucracy! We predict this action among the C. P. rank and filers, yet.

Hair-spring tempers! says Michale Quin. Logical reaction, say we. "It is necessary", says Quin, "for comrades to be militant on the picket lines and in demonstrations, but not when asking another comrade for a match."

If you keep right on sending the trusting boy after left handed monkey-wrenches, pigeon's milk, strap oil, and money stretchers; if you keep the rank and filers going in an endless whirly-gig chase of profitless futility, would you have them develop wings and twitter like angels? However, if the thing has reached the point where comrades want to fight with the friend from whom they ask a match, we also advise a Chitska, but we advise beginning at the top, like good Bolsheviks!

And with a last weak thrust of his erstwhile lashing pen, he proves our case against the bureaucracy for us by admitting that these same comrades who are today blowing up at the "least slip-up", "ARE THE STRONGEST LINKS IN OUR CHAIN." And he verifies this by naming their militant conduct during the dock strike in San Francisco.

Certainly they are the strongest links in your chain, Michael Quin, and the weakest links in you chain are those sleek skinned bureaucrats who disappeared when the terror was let loose and are still among the missing.

That you are today predicting the "second coming" of Darcy gives little consolation to those trusting comrades who have, in spite of facts, retained their faith in him.

If the setting of our movement was in Germany, we would look for Sam in the cafes of Paris. That is, we would direct those who crave his presence to do so. As it is, we do not hear any working class demand in San Francisco for his return. On the contrary, out of your own mouth we hear echos of explosision within the ranks, which to us is ominous of the final, complete isolation of the bureaucracy.

—E. B.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

QUESTION BOX

GEORGE STANTON, Brooklyn—

Question: From Lenin's "The Third International and Its Place In History", Trotsky quotes as follows: ("The Permanent Revolution", p. 108) ". . . the contradictions between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' **over bourgeois democracy** to the highest form of democratism—to proletarian or Soviet democracy." In the edition published by the Stalinist International Publishers this is stated as ". . . this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' to the highest form of democracy, **through bourgeois democracy** to Soviet or proletarian democracy, . . ." Since these two have different meanings, can you tell me which is correct?

Answer: Your Editor regrets that he has been unable to find an original edition of this work which would be sufficiently authoritative to decide whether the above noted difference is one of translation or of misquotation. On the face of it though there are contradictions in the Stalinist publication.

First of all Russia never went **through** bourgeois democracy as an independent stage in its history. One would therefore have to assume that Lenin did not know the history of the revolution if the Stalinist quotation were to be accepted.

Secondly, both quotations use the word "leap". If Russia went from Czarism to proletarian democracy **through** bourgeois democracy, where is the **leap?**

And finally, how can you trust a Stalinist quotation?

* * *

ELLEN G., Bridgeport—

Question: How would you answer the accusation frequently thrown at me: Oh you radicals, if somebody gave you a lot of money you'd act just the same as the capitalists"?

Answer: How well do we recognize this nonsensical accusation.

The attention of your accuser should first be called to the fact that by his very remark he recognizes that you are a propertyless person, since such a statement obviously could not be made to anyone, even of moderate wealth, who devoted himself to the revolutionary movement. The attempt should then be made to demonstrate that the existence of a capitalist society implies, on the one hand, the ownership of the means of production by one class, the capitalist class, and on the other hand a propertyless mass, the proletariat, which has no means of existence except by selling its labor power to the capitalists; that the existence of the latter is dependent upon exploiting the proletariat; that from his material fact springs the life and death struggle between the two classes; and that the Communist party is merely the vanguard of the proletariat in this struggle. Now it is obvious that an individual cannot be a member of both classes at the same time so that your accuser is merely telling you that if you were suddenly changed from a proletarian to a capitalist you would no longer be a proletarian.

* * *

G. ZEL., New York—

Question: Bela Kun, in the Daily Worker of Sept. 21, 1934 states that on July 20, 1932 the German Communist Party appealed to the leadership of the Social Democracy for a united front against fascist terror. Is this true?

Answer: In a subsequent installment of his article (**Daily Worker,** Sept. 24, 1934) Bela Kun contradicts himself:

'A Social-Democratic worker, however, may raise the question: '. . . why did you Communists not make such offers to the Social-Democratic parties before the fascist danger in Germany was an immediate one? Why did you not make such proposals before?'

"We answer as follows:

. . . To propose a united front at that time to the party leadership of Wels, Severing, Braun, Leipart and the rest would indeed have been purely a maneuver designed to unmask them: . . . This would not only have been a maneuver; it would have been a stupid maneuver." You see therefore that the Stalinists are and were always right.

Actually, on the eve of July 20, 1932 the C. C. of the German Communist Party adopted the following resolution: "The Communist party, before the proletarian public, addresses to the S.P.D., to the A.D.G.B., and to the Alpha-Bund the question if they are prepared to carry out, together with the Communist party, the general strike for the proletarian demands."

What we had here was merely a Stalinist zig-zag, forced on the latter by life itself, and by means of which they themselves condemned their whole policy. If the united front was correct on July 20, 1932, why was it counter-revolutionary on July 1, 1932 or on August 1, 1932? Why was it that except on July 20 the Social Democrats were "social fascists", and only the "united front from below" was possible? This the Stalinists cannot and will not answer except by lies or evasions because their whole policy was false to the core. All they can succeed in doing by referring to "July 20" is to increase the suspicion that they knew the correct road to take in the interests of the proletariat but refused to take it.

It is of course impossible to repeat the entire history of the German events which occupied the major interest of the **Militant** for almost three years, and on which we published four pamphlets by Trotsky. Read or re-read these thoroughly, particularly "What Next" and "The Only Road" (You can get them from the Pioneer Bookshop) and none of the Stalinist-created contradictions will bother you much.

WILLIAM B., Dayton—

Question: What do you mean by the term "Centrist" which I have seen mentioned so often in the **Militant?**

Answer: The following quotation from Trotsky's "What Next", where an entire chapter is devoted to the question, is probably the best answer you could get within the limits of this column:

"Speaking formally and descriptively, Centrism is composed of all those trends within the proletariat and on its periphery which are distributed between reformism and Marxism, and which most often represent various stages of evolution from reformism to Marxism—and vice-versa. Both Marxism and reformism have a solid social support underlying them. Marxism expresses the historical interests of the proletariat. Reformism speaks for the privileged position of proletarian bureaucracy and aristocracy within the capitalist state. Centrism, as we have known it in the past, did not have and could not have an independent social foundation. Different layers of the proletariat develop in the revolutionary direction in different ways and at different times. In periods of prolonged industrial uplift or in the periods of political ebb-tide, after defeats, different layers of the proletariat shift politically from left to right, clashing with other layers who are just beginning to evolve to the Left. Different groups are delayed on separate stages of their evolution, they find their temporary leaders and they create their programs and organizations. Small wonder then that such a diversity of trends is embraced in the comprehension of 'Centrism!' Depending upon their origin, their social composition and the direction of their evolution, different groupings may be engaged in the most savage warfare with one another, without losing thereby their character of being a variety of Centrism."

CHINA'S "RED" GENERALS RECANT

Capitulate to Kuomintang and Attack Erstwhile Comrades

Shanghai, China, Aug. 31.—While functionaries and "leaders" of the Stalinist party in China's cities continue to surrender themselves to the Kuomintang, renouncing their opposition to the counter-revolutionary government of Chiang Kai-shek and offering their services to the reaction, a similar process is now beginning in the Chinese countryside, where for the past several years peasant armies under the Soviet banner have been conducting armed warfare against the Kuomintang and the landlords.

Within one month at least three high commanders of China's so-called Red armies have surrendered and offered their services to Chiang Kai-shek.

Ho-chung Surrenders

The first of these is Kung Ho-chung, who, it is reported, surrendered on July 27 after his army had been defeated somewhere in the region of the Hunan-Kiangsi border area. In addition to being an important army commander, whose prowess and devotion to the revolution have been ballyhooed by the Stalinists for several years past, Kung was also a member of the C.E.C. of the so-called Soviet government which has its seat at Juikin in Kiangsi province!

His surrender was an important event for the Kuomintang, which lost no time in enlisting him in its service. Kung responded with equal alacrity, and is now actively campaigning against his comrades of yesterday. Needless to say, his anti-Communist declarations are being widely publicized.

Military Adviser to Chiang

But the redoubtable Kung, because of his 4-5 years' experience of active military campaigning, including the art of guerilla warfare, has a much greater value for the Kuomintang than merely a propagandist. He can be useful in working out military strategy for further campaigning against his former comrades-in-arms. And why not? If Stalinist politicians can become political advisers, office functionaries and even police hounds for the Kuomintang, why should not a Stalinist general accept a post as military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek?

Kung Ho-chung is now working at Chiang Kai-shek's military headquarters at Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi province, helping to map out the new offensive which is being prepared against the Red armies of Central China. And he certainly is earning whatever money the generalissimo pays him.

Ten days ago, we were informed by a Reuter report, Kung delivered a lengthy speech at the generalissimo's headquarters, which was widely quoted in both the Chinese and foreign-language press. We reproduce here the more delectable portions of that speech as carried by the **China Press** (Shanghai) on August 26:

"Advice" from "Red" Commander

"The former Red commander told the staff of General Chiang's that aerial and artillery bombardments had inflicted heavy casualties upon the communist forces and seriously undermined their morale. He suggested that government commanders might make a greater use of the bombers and field pieces at their disposal.

"The economic blockade against the Red areas, Kung related, had produced a most telling effect on the morale of the communist troops. Salt and rice were most scarce in the communist districts, and the relentless methods used by the Reds in commandeering food from the populace had engendered great public discontent and caused many of them to flee from communist control. Kung suggested that this blockade should be maintained by all means, and possibly also strengthened at some points like Kanchow, in southern Kiangsi, where food was still allowed to enter the communist area.

"Kung attested to the great utility of the blockhouses that the government troops had erected around the dwindling communist area. The line of blockhouses, he said, had crippled the activities of Red guerrillas, who had formerly been used with telling effect for harassing the government lines. He thought that more blockhouses should be built, and urged that special efforts should be made to prevent the communists from breaking through and escaping in the direction of Szechwan and Kweichow.

"Aside from military tactics, the erstwhile Red commander emphasized the importance of propaganda as a means towards exterminating the communists. He pointed out that the communist regulars, numbering about 100,000 strong, had for years been fighting government troops many times their strength. The reason why they had been able to hold up for so long he attributed to their intensive though deceiving propaganda among the populace. He urged the authorities to intensify their counter-propaganda among the 20,000,000 people in the Red districts, suggesting that leaflets distributed from the air should be written in the simplest language.

"Kung said that he joined the communists in 1927 with the idea of working for the welfare of the masses. After eight (!) years' experience as a high communist commander, he was now convinced that communism was impractical in China, and realized that the San Min Principle rather than Marxism afforded the way towards national salvation. He still cherished his former aim of working for the masses, but would exert himself along a different direction."

Inventions Unnecessary Here

Comment on the above would seem to be entirely superfluous. But it might be added that since no indignant denials of Kung's capitulation have emanated from Stalinist quarters so far as we can discover, there is no more reason to doubt that it is "genuine" than there was to doubt the scores and hundreds of other Stalinist capitulations to the Kuomintang during the past two years. We shall, of course, be accused by the Stalinists of making use of reports in the enemy press to slander them. Alas, all these reports have proved authentic. The Kuomintang has no need to invent betrayals of the revolution by the Chinese Stalinists. There is an ample supply of "genuine" betrayals.

The second capitulator was announced to the world thus in the **China Weekly Review** of Aug. 25:

"Li Chien-wu, Commander of the Independent 'Red' regiment, who for the past few years has been harassing the people along the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi border regions, has surrendered with 104 bandit officers and soldiers to the Peace Preservation Regiment at Pingkiang, northeastern Hunan. They surrendered with 73 rifles and one machine-gun. The bandit commander has been brought to Changsha by the units under Major-General Teng Nan-chi from Pingkiang."

Another "Red" Traitor

It is has been reported that Li Tse-liang, described by government news agencies as "one of the ablest commanders of the communist army, unexpectedly arrived at Pingkiang in northeastern Hunan, near the Kiangsi border, on August 22 and offered his services to the government." According to the **Central News,** Li was brought under escort to Changsha on August 29, and there he "told newspaper reporters . . . that he believed communism was bound to be a failure in China and therefore had escaped from the red ranks to join the government forces."

These three capitulations, we may be sure, will be followed by many others as the perspective of the peasant war grows more and more hopeless. The military forces of Chiang Kai-shek and his allies have succeeded in recent months in inflicting severe blows on the revolutionary peasant armies in China. The dormancy of the city proletariat makes this possible, giving the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang practically a free hand against the revolting peasants.

"Soviet China" Faces Extinction

A stage has now been reached where there would seem to be little doubt that, in the absence of unforeseen developments which would serve to weaken the offensive of the Kuomintang forces, the so-called "Central Soviet District" in Kiangsi will be wiped off the map before many more months have passed. What, then, will become of the Stalinist myth of a "Soviet China?"

The Stalinists will, however, manufacture new myths to cover up old ones. If the revolutionary peasants of Kiangsi are given a blood-bath by the Kuomintang troops (the price which history is apparently going to exact for further demonstrating the falsity of the Stalinist formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"), the courage and tenacity which the peasants display in defending their conquests (however hopelessly) will be seized upon as evidence of a "new revolutionary upsurge" in China.

Readers of Stalinist journals all over the world will be regaled with accounts of a defeat metamorphosed into "victory". They have done it in the case of Germany. Why not China?

Peasant War Will Continue

The liquidation of the "Central Soviet District" in Kiangsi would not mean, necessarily, the end of the peasant war in China. The acute continuance of all those problems which have stimulated the peasantry to revolt might cause the flames of the peasant insurrection, extinguished for the time being in Kiangsi, to flare up in other, probably more isolated and therefore less accessible, parts of the country. The peasant movement now proceeding under Soviet slogans would continue under different conditions. Losing its one definite geographic base in Kiangsi, it would assume completely the character of guerilla warfare.

In this way, means would be provided whereby the Stalinists could continue their lying propaganda. Glossing over the important central fact that their "Soviet government" at Juikin had been overthrown, they would be able to point to the flaming guerilla warfare, which would undoubtedly assume a violent character over widely-scattered areas, as "evidence" that "Soviet China", far from being defeated, was advancing and extending.

The Passing of a Shadow

Such are the methods of confusionists. Some will be deceived, especially those who wish to be deceived. But it is to be doubted whether the Chinese proletariat, which long ago deserted the Stalinists in disgust, will be misled any further. Moreover, the Stalinists, depending as they do upon the fat subsidies they receive from the "Central Soviet District", would no longer possess the means for spreading their illusions. Once those subsidies cease, they will be utterly unable to keep up the shadow of a pretense to a real political existence.

The revolutionary problem in China remains: To arouse the Chinese proletariat to action by means of a program of democratic demands, having as its perspective a lightening of the fearful economic burdens and political disabilities of the workers and the creation of favorable conditions for further struggle; to fight for a plenipotentiary national assembly; to link the struggles of the proletariat with struggles of the lower strata of the peasantry and also those of the oppressed petty-bourgeois elements in the cities under the hegemony of the proletariat. Apart from this, there is no perspective of victory for the peasant war in China and there can be none. **—LUCIFER.**

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETTLINGER

(Continued from last week)

The program of the employers at first was based on the belief that the strike would not be of long duration and that the teamsters could be used to break the strike by hauling cargo to and from the docks as they had during the 1919 strike. When this failed and in addition the longshoremen were joined by the other marine workers they resorted to police brutality and terrorism of the worst kind. The police were mobilized to beat up and arrest the strikers and drive them from the waterfront. In addition the red scare was played up continually by the newspapers and the charge that the leadership of the strike was in the hands of the communists was hurled daily in the press in the hopes of causing dissension in the ranks of the strikers. The employers also attempted through the activities of Ryan, the International President, to put over an agreement, the effect of which would have been to preserve the same status that existed prior to the strike.

Ryan's June 16 agreement left the other marine unions entirely out of the settlement and provided for a hiring hall financed by the employers and jointly operated. In such a hiring hall the longshoremen would have had no power whatever. These agreements were correctly exposed by the left wing and were overwhelmingly voted down by the men.

The leaders of the San Francisco Central Labor Council also played a great part in the efforts of the employers to defeat the strike. As before stated, they were forced by the sentiments of the rank and file to issue an appeal to all unions for support, but at the first opportunity they launched a vicious attack on the strike by securing the passage of a resolution condemning the strike leaders of the I.L.A. as reds. The Stalinists furnished an excellent opportunity for them to do this by their tactics of denunciation of the American Federation of Labor at a mass meeting of twelve thousand workers called by the Strike Committee in support of the strike. Also in opposition to the wishes of many of the strike committee they put on the platform as a speaker, the representative of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. This played directly into the hands of the labor skates and they succeeded in passing this resolution of attack on the strike by an overwhelming majority. This attack in the heat of the strike was hailed with glee by the shipowners and the capitalist press and brought forth a congratulatory telegram from William Green, president of the A. F. of L.

The tactics of the police right from the beginning of the strike was one of brutality and intimidation. The strike had only been in effect a few days when the police began a campaign to break the morale of the pickets. The first move was to force the pickets off the waterfront side of the Embarcadero which naturally greatly hampered their effectiveness. The strike committee should have organized their forces and made a militant attempt to maintain their right to picket in front of the docks. This would have greatly stimulated the morale of the pickets and would also have drawn the rank and file of the labor movement much closer to the marine workers.

The police constantly made statements in the press that they would begin cracking down on the strikers if the strike was not settled. This was more than a verbal gesture as they were cracking the heads of the pickets at every opportunity.

After the longshoremen turned down Ryan's fake agreement of June 16, the Industrial Association of San Francisco, acting on behalf of the employers, began making preparations for the opening of the port. On July 3 a few trucks were moved under police protection from the docks to a central warehouse. Thousands of strikers and sympathizers were on the water front to prevent the movement of the trucks. The militancy of the strikers at this time was unquestioned. They would immediately congregate at any dock where they heard freight was going to be moved and in spite of the police succeeded in overturning several trucks. The big battle to move the trucks was continued on July 5. On that day thousands of strikers and sympathizers were again on the waterfront. The police were reinforced by hundreds of deputies, all of them armed to the teeth with instructions to shoot. The strikers had only a few sticks and stones. In addition to hurling tear and vomit gas, the police and deputies opened fire on the pickets and over seventy strikers were shot, the great majority of them in the back. Two strikers were killed near the I.L.A. headquarters several blocks from where any trucks were being moved. Following this massacre the militia was called in and began to patrol the waterfront.

The murderous attack of the police on the strikers fired the feelings of the rank and file of the labor movement to a white heat. The teamsters union in a packed meeting, in spite of the plea of Casey and the other officials about the sanctity of contracts, voted six to one to come out on strike in support of the marine workers. After the teamsters the butchers and chauffers immediately followed. The labor officialdom faced with the threat of a general strike had only two alternatives. Either to oppose it openly, which action had in it the danger of their complete isolation and repudiation by the trade union movement, or to head it off by accepting leadership and thus control it. They naturally chose the second course as did the labor leaders in Great Britain during the general strike. The San Francisco labor officials took command in order to betray the movement at the first favorable opportunity.

Their first move was at the meeting of the Labor Council held on July 6, the day after the massacre. After passing a resolution condemning the Governor for calling out the militia and stating that the San Francisco police were capable of handling the situation, thereby showing their loyalty to the city administration with which they were politically affiliated, they then presented a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee of seven to take control of the waterfront strike and advise the labor movement of San Francisco as to what action should be taken in support of the strikers. As a sop to the I.L.A. they also endorsed the aims of the strike for collective bargaining and the right of the I.L.A. to control the hiring halls. Here again the absence of a militant left wing enabled the bureaucrats to pass this resolution. In spite of the opposition of a handful of delegates who saw that the officials by this move were seeking to prevent the general strike, it was overwhelmingly adopted by the vast majority of the delegates in the belief that such a committee was necessary in order to build the machinery for the successful calling of a general strike. That the Strategy Committee was out to settle the strike and not to call a general strike was evident right from the start. At the teamsters meeting, called for the purpose of deciding whether all of the teamsters should go out on a general sympathetic strike, the committee used all of their influence to prevent such action from being taken. The teamsters, however, were not influenced by these tactics and after listening to the speech of Harry Bridges, the chairman of the joint marine strike committee, voted 6 to 1, as previously mentioned, to go out on strike.

(Continued next week)

WORLD OF LABOR

BRITISH WORKERS OVERWHELM FASCISTS

Before us is a photograph of a sea of British workers, over 100,000 strong, surrounding a tiny island of Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts, less than 3,000 in all with about as many cops to protect them. And what a reception the fascists received from the workers! Here is an item from the **Daily Telegraph,** British capitalist paper:

"The Black Shirts, hemmed in by long lines of police on either side and resembling so many prisoners, went through a long avenue of jeering spectators."

This sea of angry workers gathered in Hyde Park seethed with hostility to Mosley's dupes and not a word of all their speeches could be heard above the shouts of derision from the proletarians. The workers assembled at this monster demonstration in defiance of the exhortations from the labor leaders and the **Daily Herald,** organ of the British Labor Party, for everyone "to stay away".

It seems to us from this distance that the miserable handful of Fascists should have been ducksoup for the workers who, from all reports, were raring to go, The I.L.P. and the C.P., however, put the damper on the demonstration with the order from each of the four platforms of the counter-demonstration: "No provocation from the workers—ignore provocation from others—show our strength and our discipline."

While this admonition may be perfectly well under other circumstances, our opinion leans towards teaching the Fascists a lesson of direct proletarian action whenever and wherever possible—especially when the workers' sentiment is so unmistakable and their strength so omnipotent.

* * *

LEFT SOCIALIST THREATENED

Spaak, editor of **Action Socialiste,** has been threatened with expulsion from the Belgian Labor Party (S. P.), by the General Council for his criticism of their weak leadership of a recent textile strike. A sub-committee proposed that the general council recommend to the annual conference the expulsion of Spaak. But cunning Vandervelde, who knows that it is much better to keep a left wing leader bound hand and foot within the party than to create bad feeling by expelling him, made a shrewder proposal. Spaak would not be expelled if he agreed to cease publication of his paper and serve instead on a committee of three to edit a discussion organ. But in no case was he to write on trade union subjects. If Spaak acquiesces it means the ball-and-chain around his political activity in the party. There can be no intra-party peace on the basis of the proposals of a king's footman like Vandervelde, except the peace of the grave.

* * *

BANANA WORKERS HOLD FIRM

The strength and solidarity of the banana workers strike in Costa Rica, is indicated in the fact that for the first time in the history of the United Fruit Company, one of the company's ships, S. S. Peten, arrived in New York with empty holds. The solidarity of the Cuban workers prevented the loading of the ship in Cuba, following its being unable to get a load at Puerto Limon, Costa Rica.

On the other hand, the extent to which the United Fruit Company dominates the political situation in the Central American countries, is made quite clear by recent events in the strike situation.

An agreement, settling the strike was signed at the Ministry of Labor offices in San Jose, on August 28, by Congressman Manuel Mora, of the Communist Party, representing the striking workers, and representatives of the government and the planters respectively. Among the terms of the settlement, which was a great victory for the workers, were the following provisions: Common Labor—Wages increased from 4 colons to 4.20 colons daily (4 colons equal $1 U.S. approx.), hours reduced from eight to six daily; Axe labor—Wages increased from 4.50 and 5 colons to 7 colons daily; Piece work rates—increase of 35 to 100 percent in rate paid. All pay to be in cash and not in company scrip as heretofore; Company commissaries in the camps to post price lists which must not be higher than the prices charged in stores of the nearest private commercial establishments; hospital privileges to be guaranteed by the employer at his expense; all tools excepting machetes to be furnished by the employers and not by the workrs as heretofore; hygienic housing conditions in all labor camps and plantations; official government recognition of the Workers' Union of the Atlantic; no discrimination against workers for strike activity; federal intervention to procure liberation of workers imprisoned or strike activities.

In addition to the foregoing, the Executive, through the Ministry of Labor, promised to intervene with the United Fruit Company to secure the latter's adhesion to the conditions of the settlement.

On the foregoing conditions, the workers agreed to call off the strike, but the company refused to acknowledge the settlement. Therefore the strike has been continued, and the government, which had sought a quick solution in order to reestablish trade and industry, upon which its own income and life depend, now sides openly with its master, the United Fruit Company.

Repression and provocation are on the order of the day. The United Fruit Co., the newly formed "Anti-Communist League" and the government itself vie with each other in their efforts to provoke the workers.

At dawn on September 12 the national police made a savage raid on general strike headquarters at Finca Los Angeles and after shooting up the whole settlement, endangering the lives of the strikers, their wives and children, arrested everyone they could catch and expelled them from the country without any further formality. Comrade Jaime Cerdas, member of the C.C. of the C. P. and also of the general strike committee and one of the most active organizers, was wounded severely. The workers' homes were soon enveloped in flames and now the somewhat decimated but just as resolute general strike committee is obliged to meet elsewhere.

In the attempt to smash the strike, every method is being used. The workers cannot be intimidated, and are backing up the leadership of the strike to the fullest degree. The strike leadership on its part, is straining every effort to prevent the workers from restoring to acts of terrorism, all the more difficult in view of the provocative actions of the Company and the government. Evidently what the company hopes for is an insurrection, as it would be the surest means of checking the development of an international movement for the organization of the plantation workers of the whole Carribean area. Above all, the forces of reaction realize the importance of the proletarian vanguard and are concentrating their efforts to destroy it.

At the Special Session of the Costa Rican Congress, opened last week, an attempt is being made to outlaw the Communist movement. Charges of high treason have already been brought against Congressman Mora. It is apparent that this is but an effort to provoke an outbreak such as occurred in El Salvador several years ago, which would give the government a legal excuse to murder the militant working class leaders.

French Bolshevik-Leninists Decide To Enter S.F.I.O. as Faction

At the recent conference of the French Section of the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists) it was decided by a majority vote to enter the S.F.I.O. (French Socialist Party) as a faction and to work there for the same prnciples which our organization has upheld on an international scale, first as the Left Opposition of the Comintern and, after the German debacle, as an independent group. The tactical turn of the French League is motivated by the near approach of the decisive struggle with Fascism in France and the necessity of establishing closer contact with the mass of socialist workers who are experiencing a deep process of ferment and political differentiation. The tactical move of the League is designed to put it in a position to influence them for a revolutionary policy. The united front pact concluded by the Socialist and Stalinist party bureaucracies had excluded the League from participation, thus isolating it from the mass movement. With its small numerical forces the League, despite the power of its ideas, would have been condemned to ineffectiveness in such a situation. And since,in the estimation of the International Communists, the showdown with Fascism is near at hand—perhaps a matter of months—a swift tactical turn on the part of the League was deemed necessary. The French comrades did not wish to stand aside as sectarians in order to draw lessons after the victory of Fascism. They chose to force their way into the mass movement, through the only door open under present conditions, to influence the movement for revolutionary struggle and victory.

It goes without saying that the sharp turn in tactics decided upon by our French comrades does not in any way or in any degree signify a renunciation of any of the ideas which have bound the Bolshevik-Leninists of the world together—ideas which are all now compressed into the slogan of the Fourth International and the struggle for its realization. The action is taken without any thought of reconciliation with reformism or centrism as represented by the parties of the Second International, any more than ten-years' existence of the International Left Opposition as a faction of the Communist International meant a reconciliation with Stalinism.

Both the major French parties today—Stalinist and Socialist—are centrist parties. There are two important differences, however. The former s moving backward from the principles and methods of revolutionary Marxism and is deprived of any semblance of internal democracy; the latter is in a crisis marked by the complete bankruptcy of reformism, a deep process of radicalization is taking place in the ranks, and the bureaucracy is not in a position to prohibit a wide internal democracy. In these circumstances—with the danger of Fascism imminent—the French League of International Communists arrived at the conclusion to enter the Socialist Party as a faction.

Prior to the decision of the conference to take this step the National Committee of the Communist League of America decided, by a majority of 8 to 1, to recommend this course to the French comrades, despite the great dangers and difficulties involved in such a drastic reorientation. We recommended this course with full confidence that they would remain true to their banner and carry it with them into the Socialist Party. That this confidence was fully justified is confirmed by the latest issue of **La Verite** which has just arrived. It is published now in the name of "The Bolshevik-Leninist Faction of the S.F.I.O.—formerly the Communist League."

We print below the declaration of the French comrades upon entering the S.F.I.O. as well as a statement on the decision of the national conference. From these documents it is clear that the Bolshevik-Leninists of France remain what they were and that they have been accepted by the socialist workers as such.

We shall follow and report the feverish developments in France and the part played in them by the Bolshevik-Leninists. The key to the whole world situation is now in France. The issue will not remain long undecided. The question is: The horrible reaction of Fascism, or—the liberating victory of the working class, for France, and not only for France. The Bolshevik-Leninist faction of the French Socialist party will have a great role to play in the answer to this momentous question. We shall watch their struggle with passionate sympathy and give them all the moral and material aid in our power.

—J. P. C.

Declaration of French Bolshevik-Leninists

(Translated from La Verite)

At the Third National Conference of the Communist League, the Bolshevik-Leninists of France after examining the French and international political situation and the situation in the workers' movement, reaffirmed their conviction that the program and methods of Leninism, the bases of their activities, are today more necessary than ever for the proletariat in order to resist Fascism, overthrow the capitalist system and march towards the socialist society.

The Bolshevik-Leninists maintain that, following the February events, the two great organizations of the working class have accepted the slogan of the united front, for which we struggled for many years; however, they have not endowed it with the active content so necessary because of the threat of reaction. Nevertheless, a deepgoing and radical regrouping of the working class is taking place, political differentiation occurring through a process of unification. The Bolshevik-Leninists want to play the greatest role in this regrouping towards a single revolutionary party of the proletariat, which cannot take place except in action, in the elaboration and criticism of action.

Under present conditions, to continue as a small independent group would not permit us to play our role with the force demanded by the gravity of the situation. That is why we have decided to enter the Socialist party, as we are, with our program and ideas. In the ranks of the sections of the Socialist party, shoulder to shoulder with its revolutionary workers, with the working class of France, in the common struggle against the bourgeoisie, we want TO ELABORATE WITH THEM THE BEST MEANS, THE BEST METHODS TO EMANCIPATE OURSELVES FROM THE FETTERS OF CAPITALISM.

In entering the ranks of the Socialist party, the Bolshevik-Leninists ask only the right to participate in its activities, to defend, equally with all other tendencies, those ideas which have been forged in years of struggle; we agree to be disciplined in revolutionary action.

The Bolshevik-Leninists call upon all their sympathizers to transform their sympathy into adherence, by associating themselves with us in this decisive step.

Comrades, join us in the ranks of the Socialist party for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat!

Without renouncing our past and our ideas, but also without any mental reservations of sectarianism, we speak out what is: it is necessary to enter the Socialist party; not for the sake of exhibitions, nor of experiences, but for serious revolutionary work under the banner of Marxism.

—National Conference of the Communist League of France.

Third Conference of French League

(Translated from la Verite)

Our third national conference terminates a decade of struggle of the revolutionary group, the Bolshevik-Leninists of France. In 1924 a handful of militants of the French Communist party reacted against the first signs of the Stalinist policy of revising Leninism which was characterized by the anti-Trotskyist offensive in the Russian Communist party and then in the entire Communist International. "Oppositionist" sections formed. Without international connections, isolated from the powerful reserve of the Russian opposition, suffering from the vices of a section only recently released in Tours from the opportunist and social-patriotic grip, these new sections suffered many crises, the toll paid to the process of doctrinal selection.

Foundation of La Verite and the Struggle for the Reform of the C. I.

In 1929 hardly a dozen militants founded **La Verite. The shameful** expulsion of Trotsky from the U.S.S.R. deprived the Russian Opposition of its leader, but allowed its forces greater activity in the service of the world revolution.

Beginning with this date, the aim of our section **"was to struggle against the degeneration of the revolutionary movement"**, our method—**"reform of the Communist International"**, which despite the accumulation of Stalinist mistakes was the vanguard of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

The Degeneration of the C.I. The German Defeat

The degeneration of the C. I. deepened. It was characterized by a multitude of zig-zags and a bureaucratic-hierarchical regime. The result was the German defeat; the importance of this defeat which, measured by its effects on the workers' movement, the fact that the mistakes causing the defeat were approved without discussion in any section, removed any perspective of reform. As a revolutionary party of the proletariat, the 3rd International could no longer play its progressive role. Like the 2nd International in 1914, it had ceased to live as a dynamic revolutionary factor.

Our Record in this Period

In our struggle for the reform of the C. I., step by step we formed a strong organization on an international scale which now consists of more than 25 sections on every continent, unified on a common programmatic and principle platform, having a press and cadres in each country. By this method it reconstituted the political capital of the world proletariat.

Towards the Fourth International

The theoretical bases of a new international laid, the propaganda for the Fourth International begun in September 1933, the attempt at joint work made with formations who were expelled or previously left the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, serious progress was made and the current for the Fourth International gained in the entire world. The cry of rabid hate of the world bourgeoisie against L. Trotsky, and then the expulsion order in April 1934 is on a par with the reception the world bourgeoisie gave the 1st International at its foundation!

The Third International was born in the grandiose circumstances of a victorious proletarian revolution. The 4th International found its **raison d'etre** in the dramatic circumstances of the degeneration of this revolution. The task of Lenin in 1914 struggling against the torrential current of chauvinism was difficult; our task in the centrist morass is quite as difficult. Defeats have been suffered by the masses and have created a reflux *in the sentiment of internationalism.* So much more imperative is the struggle for the 4th International. In the teeth of the threat of an imperialist war, of the Fascist wave, our 3rd National Conference makes this struggle the axis of its activity.

For a United Revolutionary Party!

To build a revolutionary international means to struggle on a national scale for a revolutionary party. This is an urgent task in France where the coming to power of Fascism would have as its consequence the disapearance for a whole period of any perspective of socialist revolution in Europe, while on the contrary, a revolutionary rise would crack Fascism in Italy and Germany and open up a new development of the world revolution.

In the face of the new situation created in the French workers' movement by the rapproachement of the two large parties which claim to speak in its interest, by the perspective of organic unity of these parties, in the regrouping that such a perspective would cause, our 3rd National Conference believes that the S.F.I.O. can in this situation by its present state of evolution, and thanks to a political differentiation actively taking place in its ranks, become a milieu of revolutionary regroupment. That is why our 3rd National Conference decided for the entrance of our members into the S.F.I.O. without that in any way meaning the abandonment of our conceptions, the renunciation of our past struggle which guarantees our continuity.

Disapproval and Equivocal Approval

This decision of our National Conference has caused much confused and violent disapproval. It comes from numerous comrades who confuse our organization with a revolutionary party, for the constitution of which we **were only a medium.** These comrades forget that correct ideas have an active effect only when they have a mass basis, consequently an organized basis capable of playing a decisive independent role.

Approbations are not lacking. A diversity of partisans of **"organic unity"** approve our entry. Those who aspire to this unity by confusedly giving to it the content of a **strong revolutionary party,** which is still to be created, should understand that this "unity" can only have this virile content on the basis of revolutionary principles. The **Pupistes** (Party of Proletarian Unity, formerly Right wing Communists) who confine themselves to applauding our entry, should stop subordinating themselves to the electoral cretinism of their leaders. The partisans of the "unity of fire and water", with the Marquets and the Renaudels, should know that "we carry not unity but battle to the social traitors" (Karl Liebknecht).

We have not broken with Stalin in order to collaborate in the policies of the Marquets or the other Ministers of the king. The exclusion of a part of social traitors, create, through the evolution it expresses, the possibility of our entry. It is necessary to emphasize that we did not break with the Communist International in order to allow the lieutenants of Stalin to freely continue (even when we were expelled from the party) their work of the revision of Leninism. We greeted the evolution of the Saint Denis district, in the degree that it was progressive. We will carry on a firm struggle against any anti-Leninist degeneration!

Militant socialists! We have refused "the infiltration into the S.F.I.O. by any means" which was proposed by several militants **who are no longer with us.** We think that the Socialist Party can play an important role for the regroupment and activity of the revolutionary forces in France. We will bring all our energy to bear in this work.

You can count on it as on our revolutionary discipline!

Youth Unite Against Fascism

(Continued from Page 1)

pact submitted by the Y. P. S. L. After detailed discussion, and several proposed amendments to the draft the entire matter was referred to a steering committee consisting of one representative from each of the organizations at the meeting.

The steering committee was empowered to make the detailed plans for the demonstration, invite other organizations to the arrangements committee, etc. It was unanimously agreed that seats on the arrangements and steering committee would be left open for the Young Communist League and the National Student League. A letter is to be sent to each of these organizations asking them to reconsider their decision.

Relief Endangered

(Continued from Page 1)

The City of New York has financed this relief by obtaining one half of the sum needed from Federal relief, one fourth from the State and the remaining one fourth from the City.

An increased sumber of far-sighted capitalists and their politicians realize that unemployment has become an integral part of "Americanism" and advocate a long term relief program. The Executive Committee of the United States Conference of Mayors, presented a plan to the President which calls for special emergencies to meet the winter's need, and advocate unemployment insurance.

The problem confronting the workers of New York is similar to the one in all other cities of the United States, if not worse. This calls for renewed action for the organization of the unemployed into city, county and state-wide organizations, and united action between the different unemployed organizations for our demands.

OPEN FORUM

LATEST TURNS IN THE UNITED FRONT

(The united front between S.P. and C.P. in France and America)

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of New International
Sunday, Sept. 30, at 8 P.M.
141 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.
Questions :: Discussion
Admission Free
Auspices: Downtown Branch
Communist League of America
Sunday Lecture Series

HOT SPOTS IN THE WORLD SITUATION

The Need for the 4th International

* * *

FRANCE—October 7, 1934, 8 P.M.
Speaker: ARNE SWABECK
SPAIN — October 14, 1934, 8 P.M.
Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN
UNITED STATES—Oct. 21, 8 P.M.
Speaker: HUGO OEHLER
IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place & 15th St., N. Y. C.
Admission: 15 Cents per Lecture.
Auspices: Communist League of America, New York Local

Communist League Replies to Letter Of A.W.P. on Unity

Sept. 27, 1934.

Provisional Organization Committee
American Workers Party
A. J. Muste, Chairman
Dear Comrades:

We have given careful consideration to your letter of September 18 and agree with you that the fusion of our organizations for the task of building a new revolutionary party would be a revolutionary step forward. Since such an action would signify the first move for the unification of the revolutionary forces, after more than a decade of disintegration and splits, it could hardly fail at the very beginning to inspire and attract a considerable number of revolutionary workers in addition to the present members of our respective organizations. In view of these prospects it is our opinion that the fusion would provide a sufficient basis to justify us in formally launching the new party.

Armed with the program of Marxism, such a party, despite its comparatively small size at its inception, would have a good opportunity to become the rallying center for those workers who are breaking away from reformism and centrism, as represented by the Socialist and Stalinist parties. More than that, by direct participation in the class struggle, the new party could draw into its ranks a large number of workers who are awakening for the first time to political consciousness.

The lightning speed of class developments, however, makes it imperative that we grasp this opportunity while there is yet time, before the developments pass us by and seek another point of crystallization. Our chance to introduce the new revolutionary party into the situation as an independent force, and to make that party the axis around which further developments proceed, depends in the highest degree on the **speed** with which we compose such differences as may remain between us and proceed directly to the organic fusion of the two organizations and the formal declaration of the new **party.**

The maximum of clarity in the fundamental questions of the program is, of course, a prerequisite for success. The new party must cut with a sharp blade. If during the past six years especially, in close collaboration with the Bolshevik-Leninists of the world, we have preoccupied ourselves with theoretical work, and stubbornly pursued that work as an isolated and hounded group, it is precisely because we have understood the fearful debacle in the practice of the dominant parties on an international scale as the direct outcome of the degeneration of theory.

We aim to continue this work and to contribute all we can to the clarification of principle in such further discussion as may be necessary to prepare the fusion, and in the new party, after the fusion is accomplished, also.

But, in our opinion, this work **must be carried on now in direct** and immediate connection with the task which is imposed upon us by the general situation, namely, the founding of a revolutionary party. The fusion of our two organizations and the joint struggle to establish the new party as a power in the labor movement need not and cannot wait until every comma is put in its proper place and every hair is split in two. Our central task now, as we understand it, is to unite **our forces and create a movement.** The extent to which we comprehend this, and the speed with which we accomplish it, will be a good test of what theory means to us as a guide to action.

The programmatic documents submitted to you by the Communist League delegation during the discussions previously held, taken together with the revised draft program of the American Workers Party, contain the essential principles which, we believe, constitute the sufficient programmatic foundation upon which a party, formed out of a fusion between your organization and ours, is justified and possible. There remain, of course, a number of differences of opinion as to formulation on certain points; but many of these have already been overcome to a large extent, and we are confident that the necessary further clarification can be achieved in negotiations to prepare the unity and in the active common life of the new party.

It is our opinion that the full program of the new party must be an elaborate and carefully worked out document, and that in all probability its final form will not be arrived at for some time to come. For the present, we believe that the new party needs a concise direct statement of principle and action, omitting the expository, explanatory, and semi-narrative material of your revised program. We believe that such a statement could be drawn up within a very short time by the use of your draft program and our programmatic material. We hold that such a statement should be a joint product of our organizations, and therefore propose that a joint committee be immediately appointed to proceed with this work. The points, concisely formulated in this declaration, could subsequently be expanded expositorily in the form of popular agitational pamphlets.

The new party, formed by the merger of our organizations, will naturally be an autonomous organization which will determine for itself its own international affiliations or connections, as well as all other questions. Upon the completion of the merger it is our understanding that both organizations will dissolve into the new party. The Communist League will thereby sever its organization connections as a separate group with the International Communist League. We will propose, at the same time, that the new party establish fraternal relations with the International Communist League and all other groups and parties working for a new (Fourth) International and collaborate with them in the work of preparing the new world party.

We agree with you that the best defense of the Soviet Union, and the most effective way now to liberate the Workers State from the incubus of Stalinism is the building of powerful revolutionary parties of the new international in the capitalist countries. This conception lies at the root of our fundamental conceptions and has animated all our activity. We consider it incorrect, however, to counterpose this fundamental task of reviving the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries to the struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists within the Soviet Union to preserve and strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, to reform it and cleanse it of bureaucratic degeneration. Since the regime of Stalinism has strangled the revolutionary party in the Soviet Union no less than in other countries, this struggle for the reform of the Workers State requires that the Bolshevik-Leninists in the U.S.S.R.—and the new parties of the Fourth International with them—aim at the creation of a new party, that is, the revival of the Bolshevik party under new conditions. But this can be accomplished only as a result of the successful development of the New International in the capitalist countries.

In your letter reference is made to the different origins of the two organizations, different habits of work, etc. This undoubtedly will present certain difficulties in the first stages of the fusion, and possibly even afterward. But there is also a positive side, insofar as the *different experiences and differences* in emphasis which have marked the main activities of the members of the two organizations, can be regarded now, in the light of the concrete tasks of the present, as rather complementary than antagonistic. The reciprocal influence of the active militants of each group on the others, within a single organization, can make for a rounded and firmly united party.

Our fundamental task, as we see it, is to bring our forces together and form the new party without delay. As a practical method of preparing and hastening the unification we submit the following concrete proposals:

1. That we set up a joint unity committee composed of an equal number from each organization.
2. That this joint committee be charged with the task of preparing a draft of a declaration of principles and a program of action for the new party.
3. That this joint committee draw up the organization plans to effect the unification at a joint convention in the near future, and also work out detailed plans to adjust organization questions, press, name of the party, etc.

If these proposals meet with your approval, we are ready to select our representatives to the unity committee without delay.

Yours fraternally,
National Committee
Communist League of America
ARNE SWABECK,
Secretary

A.F.of L Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

tune moment.

The Frisco strike also revealed the role of the reactionary leaders in their struggle against the strike and the left wing.

Organizing the Left Wing

These struggles have been big lessons to the new developing progressive and left wing force in the A. F. of L. The opposition is beginning to learn the ins and outs and the need of an organized left wing. The Toledo struggle and the Minneapolis strike brought to the fore, in the clearest form, the kind of new leadership we need and the tactics necessary to win the strikes and defeat the reactionary aims of the A. F. of L. leaders.

The new progressive opposition is a growing force. On the one hand, there is the vast army of new members coming into the A. F. of L. through the organization of workers in the basic industries, forming new unions. On the other hand, in the old craft outfits, such as the teamsters, the longshoremen, etc., new recruits and conditions under the NRA are making for unions and locals that are putting up battles that every worker can be proud of and which strike fear into every reactionary leader.

The "Red" Scare

The "Red" scare will be played up to the highest point by the conservatives. Most of the "reds" in the union have nothing in common with Stalinism, and sad to say, a goodly number must yet be introduced to the theories of communism. The "red scare" that Green and Company speak of is in reality the militant progressive left wing movement that is now developing. They realize this and want to nip it in the bud. They understand what a strike like Minneapolis means. They know that the strikers were unanimous in their support of the leadership of the Minneapolis strike. They know that strike leadership of this type and calibre is deadly poison to their treacherous conservative role, and that this type of unionism spells ruin to the bosses and to their labor lieutenants.

Against Political Discrimination

The progressive left wingers *must fight in this convention* for the right of union members to belong to any political party of their choice. A fight must be put up against Green and Company who endeavor to expel communists and others. They must fight for social insurance. They must see that the six-hour day and five-day week, with no reduction in pay, becomes a fighting point for the general reduction of all hours of work, especially in the industries where 44 and 54 hours still prevail for millions of workers. The labor leaders must be instructed to resign from the NRA and all other class collaboration labor boards. A struggle against the NRA must be developed through a militant class trade union policy.

The compromise proposal of the metal trades unions on the struggle over the "vertical" or industrial form of union organization does not conform to the developments. It will retard the forward march toward amalgamation. In fact it is more of an attempt to head off amalgamation in the building of industrial unions than a step in that direction. The federal unions must be transformed into industrial unions as rapidly as possible.

It is true that the militant left wing will not be able to win its objectives at this convention. Nevertheless, it must put its program before the gathering and use the convention as a forum to further crystallize its forces. The future of the American labor movement belongs to the new type of militant leaders and the new tactics that they are developing.

—HUGO OEHLER.

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